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/Since Métraux believes that the Chiriguano are actually descendants of the Guarani, early culture history of the Chiriguano, in regard to their migrations and relations with other groups with whom they came in contact, will be found in category 116, pp. 1-30. Much of the material in these pages has been subheaded for Guarani SM4 but if the author's contention is correct then the data contained therein may equally apply to the historical Chiriguano./

1: Métraux--31 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4
Inca SE13

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Making a critical study of Alejo García's story would be to follow paths already traced out and, besides, to leave the province of ethnography. This episode of the Conquest, so closely mingled with an ethnic phenomenon, appears today as a major event whose repercussions on the development of the Provinces of the Río de la Plata were considerable.

Alejo García's expedition is distinguished from the preceding ones by its scope. Not content to raid the Chané, the Guarani Indians who formed this column had the audacity to attack the Inca fortresses of Cuzco-Toro and, after taking them by storm, to penetrate as plunderers into the provinces under the authority of the Peruvian emperor. The invaders crossed the frontier between Mizque and Tomina and advanced 40 leagues into the interior. Near the villages of Presto and Tarabuco, not far from Chuquisaca, they were stopped by the Charcas Indians, according to Díaz de Guzmán, by troops raised in the Kontisuyu, according to Peruvian chronicles. The Guarani withdrew in good order, without abandoning the conquered booty.

Huayna Capac, following this invasion which took place during his reign, had the destroyed forts restored and put strong garrisons in them.

The Guarani invasion into Tahuantinsuyu is reported at the same time by the chroniclers of Paraguay and those of Peru (1).

1. Sarmiento de Gamboa, pp. 109-110: "While Guayna Capa was occupied in this war with the Cayambi's, the Chiriguanas, a mountain people, naked, and who eat human flesh and have a public slaughter house for it, joined together and, coming out from the harshness of the mountains, entered the land of the Charcas, which had been conquered by the ingas /Incas/ of Piru /Peru/. And they fell on the fortress of Cuscotuyo, where the inga had a large garrison of frontier troops against the Chiriguanaes. And as they suddenly sallied forth, they entered the fortress and killed them all and among those of the land.

1: Métraux--32 E-5 (1928) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4
Inca SE15

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they caused great destruction, robberies, and deaths.

"This news went to Guayna Capac in Quito, who received it with great sorrow and immediately sent a captain of his, named Tasca, to Cuzco to form an army, and with it he was to go to wage war on the Chiriguanaes. The captain left for Cuzco, taking with him the guacas /huacas/, Catiquilla of Caxamarca and Guamachuco and Curichaculla of the Chachapoyas and the guaca Tomayrica and Chinchaycoaba with many of the guacas' own men. And he arrived in Cuzco where he was very well received by the governors named Apo Hilaquita and Auqui Topa Inga, and, forming his army, he left Cuzco for the Charcas. And on the way he took many troops from Collao, with which he came to the Chiriguanaes and waged cruel war and took some of them prisoner, whom he sent as specimens to Guayna Capac in Quito, so that he might see the strangeness of that people. And Captain Tasca rebuilt the fortresses which were there, and, putting in them the necessary garrison, he returned to Cuzco, where he dismissed the troops, and each one went back to his land." /Translated from the Spanish./

Santa Cruz Pachacuti, p. 304: "And at this time (of the Inca Huayna-capac) there came the news that the Cheriguanaes had come forth to take the lands of the yuga, which news upset the yuga, and so he sent the most experienced captains for the conquest of the Chiriguanaes, with 30,000 Chinchaysuyo men." /Translated from the Spanish./

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Balboa, p. 105: "But this fiesta was interrupted by the news from Cusco that the Chirigoanes, a cruel and brave people, had killed the garrisons of the frontiers and leveled the whole country as far as Chuquisaca and its surroundings. Guayna-Cápac was disturbed by this news, disguised his grief as much as he could, and called to command his army a man full of bravery and intrepidity, named Yasca, whom he ordered to punish this aggression. Yasca departed from Tumibamba at the head of the best of the Inga soldiers: moreover, he had orders to recruit from Cexamarca on all the men that he found, in order to wage the war which he was going to undertake: and in order to arouse their valor he ordered each nation to bring with it the great Guaca of its country, which is an idol besides, and to which they very frequently come. He arrived at Cusco with a large army made up of different nations: through all parts the governors welcomed him with affection and gave him great honors. Provided with everything that he might need and his army augmented with the best men from Collao, he continued on his way with the utmost speed in pursuit of the Chirihuanas: many battles were joined, without any victory declared by either of the two armies. Nevertheless Yasca took some prisoners, whom he sent to Quito. He repaired the damage that the enemies had done in the country, and he left a new garrison in the fortresses and on the frontiers: afterward he returned to Cusco, where the governors rewarded the soldiers who had distinguished themselves and permitted them to return to their countries, taking their Guacas, or idols." /Translated from the Spanish./

Cieza de Leon, p. 228: "(Guayna Capac) sent captains with troops of war to the Chirigueanes: but things did not go well for them,

1: Métraux--34 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4
Inca SE13
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/314 cont./

for they returned, fleeing." /Translated from the Spanish./

They agree /Plate IV appears here/ /315/ on the essential fact and on the approximate date of the event. This coincidence between traditions whose sources are so different and which have been collected independently from each other in regions as far apart as this leaves absolutely no doubt about the purely historic nature of this invasion. Nordenskiöld (5, pp. 70-77) in the course of his last trip into the Chaco (1913-14) was able to study the ruins of the small forts of Cuzco-Toro (today Incahuasi), which always stand at the edge of Chiriguano country. By their style they belong to the Inca period. Nordenskiöld (7) and I had thought that García's expedition was the first in date that the Guarani had launched toward Peru. In reality, other Guarani emigrations preceded it by several years, as Gandía (2, p. 30) (1) succeeded in /316/ establishing.

(1) Gandía (2, p. 30, note 1) cites various passages taken from old, reliable documents which seem to indicate that García's expedition had been preceded by other previous migrations which, starting from Paraguay, had ended up in the establishment of Guarani groups beyond the Chaco. Thus the Tarapecoci recounted to Francisco Ribera how in ancient times, before García, the Guarani had come to plunder and massacre them.

A Relación anónima /Anonymous Account/ of 1545 (pp. 310-311) reports in these words the remarks of some Chané Indians who were questioned by Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca at the time of his expedition on the upper Paraguay: "among the people found there are certain yndios /Indians/ who are from the interior country, those of the chane people

[Text Continues on P. 36]

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/fn. 1 cont./ who came to us themselves and others from near their land. and what they say agrees with what this one or that one tells us. and they say that they were slaves of a xristiano /Christian/ who came from the island of santa catalina and demanded gold and silver and they say that he got them from a race of carioes who took them for slaves and it was said the xrisptiano garçia, etc." /translated from the Spanish/. This passage seems to indicate that García and his companions found Guarani already established at the foot of the Andes and that the latter had already reduced Chané groups into slavery.

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The most significant of these texts is the one we find in the Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 346-347. Irala was at Puerto de los Reyes on the Paraguay River when "on the brigantine where he was, there came a principal with three other yndios /Indians/ who spoke the guarani language just like the guaranis themselves: the said principal said that he is called theroçe, and one yndio of those who came with him, who was small in body, said that he was called xagoani and the guaranys called him maraana; without being asked anything, he said he had lived and had been a slave without pay /esclavo de gracia/, that the yndios named him maratya and called him by the two names; he and the said principal and all his house were not from the said port and they were the ones that were called chanes; asked through the said languages why they were called chanes, he said they were of the race of the chanes who were in the interior land and who are called çeritocoçi and that thus among the

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G 175 167 decided to make an expedition and go back to the region where Alejo García had gone. When they had summoned many Indians of this province, they started going by bands and tribes. The Indians from below, the ones from the Paraná, followed the G 131 175 167 course of the Araguay River, which is, as I have said, the Pilcomayo. These are the Indians who today live on the borders of the Corregimiento de Tarija; the Indians who lived in the region of Asunción entered on the right of the Paraguay River in the direction of Caiguazú. The Indians of Jerequissaba and Carayazapera who were living higher up on the river left it near San Fernando. The latter are the ones who today are established on the Guapay River /317/ 20 leagues from the city of San Lorenzo, government of Santa Cruz de la Sierra."

G 175 167 648 In the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca (Hernández, pp. 299-301), it is a question of another migration which does not appear to have any relation to that of García, which was several years later. I shall quote this passage in its entirety, for it illustrates well certain vicissitudes of this great ethnic movement: Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca had sent a Spanish detachment to the Xarayes Indians to try to confer, with them as intermediaries, with a group of Guarani Indians who had settled a short time before in their neighborhood. The emissaries failed in their attempt, for Xaray and Guarani were irreconcilable enemies. By way of consolation, the Xaray cacique had put them in touch with a Guarani Indian, married to a Xaray woman, who had lived among them for a long time. "This Indian, who belonged to the Guarani race, had been in the villages of the interior of the lands and /318/ knew the roads which led there." The Guarani was invited to accompany the Spanish detachment and, interrogated before the Governor by interpreters, he declared "that he was a Guarani, originally from Itatí /Fig. 1 appears here/ on the Paraguay River; that in his youth his people summoned and made a great levy G of Indians of all the land and went toward the land and the 721 villages of the interior. He himself had gone there with his 722 father and his relatives to make war on the natives of this region.

[Text continues on P. 41]

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They took from them the gold and silver plaques and ornaments they had. As soon as they arrived at the first villages they began to make war on the inhabitants and to kill many Indians. Many villages were laid waste and the inhabitants withdrew toward the interior. Then all the tribes of this land joined together and marched against his people, put them to rout, and caused great carnage. The others fled in various directions and the enemy Indians followed them, barred their way, and massacred them all. Scarcely 200 were able to escape out of all those who had left and who were so numerous that the fields were covered with them. He himself was among those who escaped. The greatest number of escapees stayed in the bush through which they had passed and settled there, for they had not dared retrace their steps for fear that the Guaxarapo, Guato, and other tribes would exterminate them. He himself had not wanted to live with them and he left with those who decided to continue their march. On the way they were seen by Indians who assailed them at night and killed them all. He had hidden in the thickness of the copse and, slipping through the underbrush, he had arrived in the country of the Xaray, who had taken and adopted him for a long time. Finally, since their fellow-feelings were mutual, they gave him a woman of the tribe as a wife. He was asked whether he had any recollection of the route he and his people had taken to go into the interior. He answered that it was a long time ago that he had taken this route and that then the people of his tribe cleared a passage for themselves by cutting trees and cleaning out the underbrush with which this land was covered. He supposed that since that time brambles and weeds must have overrun the path. He had not gone there any more, nor had he been to see it again. Nevertheless, it seemed to him that if he began to follow it, he would be able to continue; and that this route began near a rounded mountain which could be seen from Puerto de los Reyes. He was questioned also on the number of days necessary to reach the first of these villages. He said that, according to his recollection, one could get there in five days and great provisions would be found there, for the Indians are excellent farmers.

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brutal people butcher them. The Chané are so subject to the Chiriguana that it is enough for them to see a Chiriguana to sit down without resisting, allowing the Chiriguana to do what they like with them. The Chiriguana take them along like flocks of sheep. They eat the ones they want and use the others for work in their houses and fields. If they want to eat one, they only tell him to go and wash in the river and he does it without talking back. He comes back naked; the Chiriguana command their children to take bows and arrows, and the poor Chané tries /328/ to escape the arrows without, however, daring to flee from the spot until he dies riddled with arrows, to the great joy of all who look at him. They cut him in pieces and eat him either grilled or roasted, with corn and much ají /peppers/. For war they use Chané who they think are brave and robust. They treat them according to their barbaric customs and put them in front of themselves; if they do not fight well, they kill them with arrow shots from behind." (Lizarraga, Vol. I, pp. 259-260.)

Last year, going from Cuevo to Igüembé, I had taken a Chiriguano guide who spoke Spanish fairly well and who had lived among the Chané in childhood. He told me in his own way about these wars of former days. His involved narrative recalls that of the Spanish monk. Later I sojourned for some time among the Chané who in their turn alluded to their fights with the Chiriguano and to the cannibalistic customs of the latter. "The Tapui are not the Ava. In times past they used to fight against the Ava." The Ava used to take the women and keep them in captivity. They used to marry the captives. From the sons of the Ava issued the Tapui, they are sons of the women they carried away. The Chané are sons of the captives. When the Chané talk together, it is with words that one does not understand. Formerly the Karai (Whites) used to fight the Ava around Cochabamba. The Karai pursued them to the lower part and left them in Paraguay. The Paraguayans are sons of the ancient Ava. In olden days the Ava used to eat the Tapuí when they made war against them. "The Ava used to eat us," the Chané would say, "and that is why we detest them."

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Fermented Beverages

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Anyone who has traveled among the Chiriguano or the Chané has learned to prize corn beer, or kāwi. Few moments in the course of my expedition have left me more pleasant memories than the ones when, tired by a long stage, I would sit down in front of a hut and receive from the hands of the wife of the "captain" a calabash full of this liquid, slightly sharp and a little granular, which quenches thirst and allays hunger. The day when the Chiriguano stop making kāwi will be a sign that they have disappeared from the face of the earth, and perhaps this delicious drink will survive them as a creole speciality in which good nationalists will take pride.

Father Corrado (p. 43) once heard from the mouth of a Chiriguano an admirable definition of the role of kāwi in the life of an Indian: "It is our father and our mother," said he. Indeed, it is the father of joy, the sign of plenty, the companion of the most beautiful moments of existence as well as the most tragic ones. It has within it a mysterious and mystic force which penetrates the individual, exalts him, and protects him against supernatural dangers. All festivals are reduced, in their essential part, to the consumption of kāwi; no collective enterprise is conceivable without their first drinking it from full jars (1). From birth to death, all that affects the

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1. Even in the 16th century the Chiriguano, like the ancient Tupinamba, did not undertake any expedition of war without having celebrated a caouin or a vin /wine/, to express ourselves like the old French chroniclers; /a passage of poetry in Spanish from Barco Centenera, p. 262, is omitted in the translation/.

When the Chiriguano of Parapití and Caipipendí rose up in 1799, before the revolt they held great drinking festivals, during the course of which they decided on the plan of operations (Corrado, p. 254).

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
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the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight. The main tactic was to surprise and not to be surprised. Scouts were sent ahead of the army and sentries were placed on guard at night. The attack was carried out at dawn. During the battle, the women of the attacked village danced and sang to help their men resist. The victorious party returned with the heads of their slain enemies, which were subjected to all sorts of outrages.

CANNIBALISM

In the past, prisoners were ceremonially killed and eaten. The victims were usually the *Chané*, of whom, according to Lizárraga (1909, p. 552), the *Chiriguano* had eaten about 60,000 during the 16th century. Warriors delivered the captives to their children, who shot them with arrows. Prisoners whom they spared were incorporated into the *Chiriguano* tribe. In more recent times, the prisoners who were not put to death were kept as slaves.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Musical instruments.—*Chiriguano* musical instruments are mainly copies of European or Andean instruments, such as the transverse flute. The transverse flute is Spanish, but the quena or end flute (pl. 43, *bottom*) is Andean. Among the most prized possessions of these Indians are round wooden whistles with two stops, and sereres, elongated pieces of wood, perforated lengthwise and blown by stopping the lower aperture (fig. 59, *d*). The clarinet with a slit reed tongue and the cowhorn bell are post-Columbian. The hide-covered drums beaten during feasts is of Spanish origin. Panpipes occur only among the *Chané* of the Parapetí River.

Dances.—Dancers of each sex form a separate line, holding hands with their neighbors. Under the leadership of a master of ceremony who beats time with a feather tuft, men dance on the same spot by bending the knee slightly while women move forward and backward or dance around the men, shaking rattles.

Drinking bouts.—Drinking bouts, in which enormous quantities of chicha are consumed, are attended by friendly communities, which are ceremoniously invited.

Narcotics.—Formerly, tobacco was grown in small quantities by the *Chiriguano* for ceremonial purposes. Today some *Chiriguano* smoke cigarettes, but seldom the pipe. A pre-Hispanic clay pipe was unearthed by Nordenskiöld at Caipipendi. Only a few *Chiriguano* who live near the *Quechua* chew coca, which, however, they do not cultivate.

Fermented drinks.—Maize chicha is the favorite beverage of the *Chiriguano*, who practically subsist on it during the weeks following harvest. Its preparation, entrusted to women, is a lengthy and com-

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173 never name dead persons, with the result that the principal
[551] events are not known because the names of those great persons who took part in them are not known. The present ones know nothing about the many wars which were waged against the Quechua before the Conquest, after the enthronement of the Inca Yupanqui (1400), and /68/ against the Spaniards during the time of the colonization, the oldest people know little more, and we only know somewhat more through the Spanish historians and missionaries of the various religious orders of Paraguay and Bolivia.

173 Through their oral tradition they assert that their origin
167 was in Paraguay, that they multiplied there, and that when
648 the New World was discovered, because they had killed one of the Portuguese captains, they feared the revenge of his companions and fled en masse along the shores of the Pilcomayo River until they arrived in the region which they occupy today, displacing other natives who were in possession of these places (1).

1. This must refer to the flight of the 4,000 Carious who joined up with the Chiriguano here.

173 Nevertheless the oldest and most notable because of their
648 authority in this place give the impression that they originally came from Brazil. They say that in ancient times they had a formidable war with the whites who came from far-off lands; conquered by them because of the inequality in arms and their expertness in the art of war, they were pursued until they entered the plains of the Gran Chaco, which they crossed, coming into Paraguay. During the campaign they defended themselves and built fortifications at several points, of which I know four: one is in Gutierrez, two in Cuevo Canton, and the fourth in Curuyuqui, which belongs to the San Buenaventura de Yvu Mission, where the uprising and defeat of the Chiriguano in the year 1892 took place (2).

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2. I recently explored this last. It is one meter deep and one wide, and goes from the stream of Cuevo from northwest to northeast.

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726 712 covering an area of about 2,000 meters; it ends in a hill surrounded by the same foundations. It had its lookout and a small plaza and dominated the whole area.

172 712 These fortifications have stone foundations, are made artfully, and are very large; consequently it is not credible that they might have been built by Indians who were even less civilized than the present ones. I believe, rather, that it was the work of the conquistadors, who, following the example of Columbus, Cortez, and Pizarro, built them for protection from the Chiriguano arrow; the extent of these walls and the height of the lookouts do not suggest anything else. The old men add that when they were pursued some 173 648 of them hid in the mountains out of fear or because they were tired and that these then populated the region (3).

3. This must refer to what Father Cardús says about the time when the Cruceños /people of Santa Cruz/ settled at the place which today is occupied by the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

174 /69/ From what has been expounded it can be deduced that the Chiriguano race is most probably of Paraguayan origin; the inhabitants of that region also say this to those who annually go to work in the haciendas of the Argentine Republic and to the Indians who in past years went to Corumbá from Yvu, Caipipendi, and Parapiti. For example, they told them that they knew of the existence of a place named Yvu and of another called Parapiti, frequented by their grandparents who had formerly visited their relatives, the Chiriguano. In addition there is a tradition that in a not too distant time many families settled thereabouts traveled from time to time to visit their relatives who lived on the banks of the Paraguay River.

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Gilliracoti was inferior to Yaveau in number of soldiers and in personal valor, but with his lies he obtained the assistance of the Indians of Yuti, Choreti, and Parapiti Grande, and even of the whites who had entered the Cordillera country and were living in Lagunillas (1).

1. Gilliracoti led the whites to believe that Yaveau was intending to rebel against them; hence he was able to get the regional cacique of the Parapiti, called Chituri, to come with him.

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The large number of the enemy sowed panic in the camp of Yaveau, who, along with many others, had joined up the Toba. The first battle was lost, and he had to hide with his people on the slopes and hill of Irenta, but, once recovered from the defeat which he had suffered through the superiority in numbers and differences in arms and in races, he soon went in search of the enemy, inflicting numerous casualties among them, and Gilliracoti had to leave his tribe, retiring to the left bank of the Parapiti River, in order not to fall into his rival's hands and be run through by his powerful arrow and have the misfortune of having his head separated from his body, which on the point of a spear, would have been exposed to the ridicule of large and small in the enemy camp.

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It is natural for men passing through a strange town to go to the political authority for their needs, as happens in the missions. Many people when they pass through Indian towns, naturally go to the cacique's house: the latter receives those whom he considers greater with the kindness and courtesy that distinguish the Indians of the Chiriguano race: for this reason some explorers have believed that it is the duty of the cacique to receive and provide hospitality for transients and strangers, but I can state that they are mistaken.

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868 to his mother with satisfaction and then tells his companions about it.

/220/ There are also men who teach boys the way to be quick in fights and even the way to dodge enemy arrows, as well as bullets. The man who teaches this is called Puruncanise, or man who scratches. He is the terror of the boys in the town where he lives. The method he uses is to run after the boys, and woe to the one who out of weakness or carelessness lets himself be caught! In the hands of the puruncanise he suffers the martyrdom of being scratched all over his body with long fingernails, which he lets grow on purpose, in addition to the blame he gets for letting himself be caught by an old man. In a second race it is not likely that the boy being taught will let himself be caught (1).

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1. Those who are older have the calf of the leg scratched with the tooth of the Acuti /agouti/ by another of the art. A lot of blood comes out of this, and upon recovering, they say that they are very good at running and can resist fatigue much more than those who did not allow themselves to be scratched.

882 When all the boys of the tribe have received practical lessons from such a neighbor, they indeed may be ready for war, because skill consists in knowing how to shoot in order to injure and also how to dodge the enemy arrow. The Indians who know such strategy are called Queremba by their companions.

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721 726 797 In the last war of Curuyuqui, the Indians attacked the Santa Rosa Mission while Colonel don Tomás Frías was there. He chose as a target an Indian Queremba who seemed to be the chief of the company and lost some eight or ten bullets without having the pleasure of felling him. Almost all the Indians learn this way of fighting; hence their combats do not last long. That of Curuyuqui lasted eight hours because they were sheltered in trenches.

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411 [492] Warriors on horseback, in addition to having bows and arrows, use the lance; it is a piece of a knife or of iron tied to the tip of a stick; note that each warrior, according to what they say, cannot carry more than a dozen arrows, because they are heavy. 534 726 In order to inspire terror and fright in the attack they make on the enemy town, they use the Igũiramimbi, a wooden musical instrument, the Senene, and the Huacananti, or cow's horn (2).

2. The first is round, and it is very hard to pierce it, and the second is long. Both are of good wood, and they engrave figures and signs on them. They hang them from the neck by means of a cord. The wood is like ebony.

722 While some of them are preparing the bows and arrows, the braver men do not remain idle, nor do the women; the latter prepare the necessary provisions and even the chicha to celebrate the triumph, if they win it, and the former encourage the more cowardly ones, showing their ability as queremba in the streets and the plaza, animating them all, making them understand that triumph depends on them and that it is necessary to triumph at all costs if they do not wish to be subjected to the harsh condition of the conquered, thus losing everything, wife, children, home, and property.

726 704 /276/ When all the weapons are ready, those of the cavalry saddle their horses, putting the arrows on the right side, so that they can easily get them in case of urgency, because it is characteristic of the cavalry to yell insults at the enemy and to sow confusion on the battlefield with shouts and the noise of the igũiramimbi, huacananti, and porongos. Then, all of them, [292] foot soldiers, horsemen, and queremba, don their garb, some the [714] jacket /coleto/, others armor of garabatá, and they put on the [411] back of the left hand a strap of pygmy-deer hide, so that they [302] will not hurt themselves when they shoot the bow, and, finally, they all color their faces and arms with ground charcoal dampened in water. Let the reader consider if this army of demons would not frighten even the dead!

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March and Inspection

726 Finally they take leave of their families, telling them to be very careful not to go far from the town. The cacique gives his [727] instructions to the men who stay behind on guard; the women once more tell their husbands to fight like brave men and to bring back the heads of their enemies in order to drink chicha from their skulls, and then, in perfect order, the march of the army toward 701 the place of combat begins. They say that the cacique does not 643 carry arms and that his presence only serves for giving orders that they promptly execute without losing any time (1).

1. If the cacique were seen to be attacked or surrounded by the enemy, his soldiers, especially the cavalry, would come quickly and boldly to his defense.

726 The combat is never begun by day or late at night, but in the early morning. For this reason, before the soldiers depart, they calculate the distance and the time that it may take to cover it. In order not to be seen or heard, they go through the woods, if there are any, and try to arrive at night at a certain distance from the enemy town. They make their camp at a distance of four or five cuadras and wait for the dawn, in order to be able to enjoy their triumph, the pillaging and other ensuing things, by the light of day, or to be able to beat an orderly retreat in case of defeat (2).

2. Nobody in the town discovers the proximity of the enemy, because the Indians do not go out of their town after midnight, and the invading horsemen with their horses stay at a suitable distance so that the horses will not give them away with their neighing.

4: Nino-:374 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

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•726 But before the combat begins one or two of the bravest men go out of the camp at the cacique's order to reconnoiter the field [825] or enemy town. The scouts enter the enemy town with every precaution, imitating, on the one hand, the noise of the fox, on the other the call of the Yancuruntu, owl, and, finally, that of the Surumucucu. If no one discovers the presence of these scouts, the combat when it comes is terrible, but, if they are discovered, the alarm signal is given, and the fight begins at once, into which the ones invaded throw themselves with their naked bodies, and they may easily come out victorious, throwing back the enemy in their formidable charge (1).

1. From this the whites deduce and believe that the Indians are preparing for war against them when they hear the Yancuruntu, owl, in their houses in the country.

The scouts, if they are not discovered, leave the town with much caution, return without delay to the camp, and report to the cacique the state of the enemy, and all listen with great interest to this account. The cacique thanks the scouts for their valor, intrepidity, and daring and once more charges all to be careful and brave in the coming attack. Then he orders silence, and they all rest without sleeping, each group talking in very low voices so that nobody will sense their presence.

726 714 292 Before the hour of combat comes, the cacique and the queremba order the preparations: the riders saddle their horses and come up to the infantry soldiers, who tighten their bows and put on their wrist the deerhide guard, fasten their aprons or girdles at the waist to cover the most delicate part of the body, some of them put on the armor, Ayo, made of tree bark, others the Tiru, lifted to the waist, and all of them put on ostrich feathers, chicken feathers, or maize husks around their faces so that they can recognize one another in the heat of battle, not wound one another, and assist one another in case one or more of them is surrounded by the enemy.

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/277 cont./

Combat and Pillaging

726 Finally, the infantrymen get in the center, the horsemen on both sides, and the querembá in front, because they must always be the first to be wounded. Matters thus arranged, facing /278/ the enemy still in bed, the invading army moves forward at a trot, and when it has come as far as some 100 meters from the town, the infantrymen and horsemen set out at full speed, they pound the horns, pirongos, ynorno, and igüiramimbi, all the soldiers raise an infernal shout and sow confusion in the little town. The inhabitants, losing no time, take up arms and come out to fight with courage. The women, children, and dogs add to the confusion and run in terror to hide if they can. Meanwhile the combat is terrible and bloody on every side, the invaders fight with tenacity for victory, and those invaded, for their own defense, for that of their wives, children, and property. They fall, some run through by an arrow, others opened by a lance, those seriously wounded and dragged by their long hair, those trampled by the hooves of the cavalrymen, who charge the unfortunate ones without pity or mercy (1).

1. Chiriguano towns were formerly made up of 40 or 50 families, and therefore the combat could not last for many hours, since those invaded were in addition taken by surprise.

In a few minutes the little plaza and the streets are full of dead and wounded. Some of the cavalrymen detain the fleeing children and women and prevent the flight of the defenders, who--a few of them--have been trying to give up the unequal fight. The fight is over before the sun appears. If the number of defenders is quite low, the invading cacique stops the battle and orders the killing of the few survivors, without concerning himself with those who have already fled.

41 Nino--376 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

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726 727 Then they enter the houses, pillage anything of value they find, break all the clay vessels, pour out all the chicha, without taking any for fear that it may be poisoned, and, finally, before the eyes of the women and children prisoners, set fire to the town, which burn until it is reduced to ashes.

[203] As soon as victory has been declared by the invaders, the cacique orders that one of the horsemen take the happy news to their town, so that the women can rejoice and finish the fermentation of the chicha. Meanwhile, when the pillaging is over and the houses reduced to ashes, they divide among all of them the women, girls, and children, and take them triumphantly back to the town. Some lancers lopped from their victims some heads of the men killed in the combat, which will serve as trophies of war.

/21½/

727 524 659 After the Victory

The victors are received with extraordinary joy, and then all glances are first fixed on the heads that are on the tips of their lances; they insult them and jeer them with much cruelty, hang them from some tree in the town or in the plaza, and there they stay as toys for the little boys, who set up games using them as targets to learn the use of the arrow and be good shots, and when they have become tired of seeing them there, they take them down, tie them to strings, and drag them through the streets, attracting everybody's attention with their shouting and games. They are thus very inhumane, and their parents watch with pleasure what their children are doing (1).

1. After or during the war of Curuyuqui, they brought to the town the head of the Indian Chabuco, and they did more or less what I have said, with slight differences.

/280 cont./

000 722 284 516 828 defeated, may the evil ones die. While the war lasts, it is the rule that women and their daughters must not sit in a squatting position, but with their legs stretched /281/ out in front, so that their fathers and husbands who are in battle will not feel any tiredness (1).

722 533 535 197 1. The Italian del Campano, relying on the writings of Father Giannecchini, a missionary of the Colegio de Tarija, writes in his work that, before the fighting began and during it, women and maidens come out to the plaza and in a loud voice sing and dance the Aré aré. This song and dance must have originated among the Toba, who at that time were numerous in the Gran Chaco region, because in the Ivu region and other regions they scarcely know the name of the Aré aré, and not all share in that knowledge, as has been proved, for in no combat which has occurred to the north, south, and west of Ivu has the Aré, aré been danced and sung.

726 727 During the Curuyuqui war the Santa Rosa mission was invaded by the rebels, who, in spite of their number and strength, were unable to enter the town which they intended to burn. Then and afterward the missionaries witnessed painful scenes of women who, crying their hearts out, raised their voices and threw ashes to obscure the enemies' vision. Bitter memories of that massacre are still retained, at which some of them laugh today, but they cried then. Whenever I hear the sad stories, my eyes overflow with tears (2).

726 [648] 2. The Curuyuqui rebels first attacked the town of Cuevo, whose inhabitants had taken refuge in Santa Rosa the night before. In a few days they attacked the mission, from which it can be concluded that their hate was against the whites, and concomitantly against the Indians who were

/281 cont./

726 helping them in the town and against the
648 missionary who had brought them.

Peace

727 Every time a war between Chiriguanos ends, those who got
728 the worst of it are the first to resume friendly relations. They do it little by little, and the women are most useful for this, the same ones who, with their tongues, contributed not inconsiderably to promoting hostilities. The conquerers readily accept the overtures of peace and immediately resume visits again, during which, if the conversation touches on the last war, the conquered avoid it, that is, they excuse the deceit suffered through some trick, but from time to time they must silently endure the reproaches of one or another bold woman, who are not lacking in the towns (3).

3. A certain young girl, a student in the Santa Rosa Mission, reproached the captain at Ivu, who was asking for a mission in his town after having tried to kill the missionary. But I have already said that this war was directly against the whites.

701 When a war is regional because several tribes take part in it
723 under the command of a single cacique, as happened in Yaveau's
643 war /282/ against Güiracoti, both regions try to have an equal
[704] number of foot soldiers, cavalry, and queremba; otherwise it would be very hard for the weaker side to enter the combat. Güiracoti came to battle aided by the whites and men from Parapiti, but, when he saw that he had fewer people, he fled from Yaveáu, who pursued him with all his men (1).

1. The cacique Yaveáu in his first defeat recovered and suitably prepared for a general and decisive charge on the slopes of the range of Irenta, located one league from the Santa Rosa Mission.

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797 648 nothing yet begun, but rather with a most evident deterioration of the building and the gardens which the Franciscans of Tarija left behind so well arranged and so flourishing (1).

> 1. When the Tarairí Mission was established through the persuasive words of the missionary, it was attacked by neighboring tribes and by the warlike Huacayelles, who were located some 100 kilometers away. The Chiriguano missions were founded where there was no nucleus of whites.

The people of Tarairí were the first to see a Franciscan father in their territory, and they are the last to understand the material advantages that the mission brings to them. The people of Tigüipa, Macharetí, Boicovo, Cuevo, and Ivu, and, finally, those of the two Parapiti missions, called San Antonio and San Francisco, came to realize that only the missionary could present their territorial rights before the Supreme Government and assist them in countering the ill will of some whites who, because they were too tyrannical, brought about the Curuyuqui uprising, in which the Indian was completely humiliated when he believed he would exterminate all the whites (2).

> 2. Through the suggestion of the missionary, the Indians of Itatiqui were assisted in their small territory by the Prefecture of Santa Cruz, before which proceedings for purchase were in process. Today they have been helped by the Supreme Government, which has proclaimed an edict for measuring and setting boundaries, but they have scarcely half a league left to them, despite having possessed from time immemorial three and a half leagues.

• 926 181 It has been seen in the course of these pages that the Indian is formidable at the beginning of battle, but if victory does not come soon, he turns cowardly and flees.

4z Mino--406 M-2 (1880-1911) 1912 SP10 Chiriguano SP10

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soon, he turns cowardly and flees. The eight-hour battle at Curuyuqui, considering that the weapons were so unequal, can be regarded as a prodigious feat, because once the Chiriguano were so far from their towns, they had to resign themselves to winning or dying before falling prisoner.

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Infidels

The adult Indian has no appreciation of religion, whatever it may be. To be sure, first his ignorance and then, more than anything, his pride and laziness contributed to this, because he turns his back on anyone who tries to instruct him. Some of them come to the monthly instruction, but almost all are like those described by the royal Psalmist in that they have eyes but do not see, ears but do not hear, /797/ and a tongue but do not speak, do not sing praises, and do not worship their Creator (1).

1. It seems that the demon of luxury has them blind, deaf, and mute with regard to religion and worship and keeps them away from the Spirit of God.

It is not likely that the Chiriguano will ask for the founding of a mission, because he does not want anyone to disturb his peace and tranquility in his own land. He considers the mission an unbearable yoke for himself and for his children. It is almost useless, it is almost a waste of time, to speak to the Indian about the supernatural, to make him yield and accept the mission. He does not understand or wish to understand why animalis homo non percipit ea quae Dei sunt. Only when he sees himself persecuted with regard to his person, his family, and his property, only in order not to fall completely into slavery, only to free himself from the harassments which he receives from his fellow man, does he then ask for a mission with much insistence, until he obtains the end desired. This is also one of the ways that God uses to secure the redemption and salvation of an endless number of souls (2).

2. There are a number of Chiriguano families

St Schmidt--728 S-8 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

/28 cont./
but no meat (349). Later he can eat sweet potatoes. When the

349. See Mémoires I, p. 320, note 3.

baby begins to walk, he is given one name at most, not by his parents, but by his grandparents. Nicknames are often added to the proper name later (350). Orphans are brought up by their

350. Nord. I, p. 208.

relatives (351).

351. Nord. I, p. 210.

From the time they first immigrated to the Sierra de la Cordillera, the Chiriguano, that is, their parcialidades, made war or attacks on the neighboring Indian tribes or the Spaniards. In the historical sketch placed at the beginning of this work, I have described these hostilities in broad outline. Their weapons of war were bows and arrows and the club. The caciques were also war chiefs. According to what one Chané cacique told Nordenskiöld, these Indians formerly had the custom of bringing home the heads of their dead enemies and of showing them during the fiestas in the town square (352). The Chiriguano capacity

352. Nord. I, p. 172.

for war was still recognized by the Spaniards in the 16th century. In the "Declaración de Sebastián Pérez Chamoso" in 1571, it is said of them: "With the inventions and tricks and mode of war that they have, they have done and are doing said damages unto the Spaniards, Indians, and workers that are in the said fields" (353).

353. Moreno II, p. 107.

Before the Chiriguano launched their attack upon King Guacane, they reconnoitered with spies the Llanos of Grigota where the

726 /88 cont./
712 King was (354). Their towns, described in the preceding, were

354. Moreno II, p. 87.

175 fortified by blockades, in addition to their natural position. Ruiz
212 Diaz de Guzman on his expedition against the Chiriguano found
248 a town near the Pilcomayo which was fortified by two concentric blockades of stone and wood (355). We find interesting data

355. Moreno II, p. 252.

about the fortifications that the Chiriguano made during their wars in the "Relación y breve noticia de lo sucedido en la guerra de Chiriguanos que se ha hecho este año de 1729 por orden /89/ del señor Virrey y Real Audiencia de Chuquisaca por el Padre Bartholomé de Mora /Report and brief note on what happened in the Chiriguano war that took place in this year of 1729 by order of the Lord Viceroy and Royal Audiencia of Chuquisaca by Father Bartolomé de Mora/" (356). These fortifications are described

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356. Unpublished /inedito/ manuscript published /publicado/ by Profesor A. Posnansky with an introduction and notes by Dr. A. Métraux. (Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad de Tucuman, Vol. II, No. I, p. 126.)

in the following way: "Continuing on their way (the Spaniards and Chiquitos), now by the light of day, at about a league they found blocking the way a very strong and well placed trench with very heavy stakes stuck in the ground, which, hewn like planks, had loopholes through which they shot arrows. Here considerable resistance was met, because the trench was very well fortified and the Indians who defended it were numerous." In another place it says: "They went on, all now being together, and they arrived at the place where the enemies had fortified themselves.... The fort was a ravine cut like a wall, which had